c 173 p 174 and that the people in the mountains are the slaves of the Allouagues who fled to the mountains and bred there. The result is that now they c [547 216] only rarely show mercy to male slaves, but rather they kill and eat them. The reason they are white may be because of the cold.

c 142 Regarding their appearance, the Caribs are of good stature and well-c [204] proportioned, strong, robust, usually fat, and healthy. They are not at all deformed except that several are flat-nosed, because their mothers flattened their foreheads and noses at birth. Their natural color is a very bronzed olive. They seem redder because of the c [302] annatto [rocou or urucu] they redden themselves with every day. They all have black hair and cannot tolerate red or blond hair. Very few of them are bald, and they make fun of those who are. They are no more thieving than the French, and even less so.

c ● 157 As for their temperament, they are all melancholic, sad, and somber; and their faces show it. They rarely speak if not spoken to. For savages they are not too stupid. They are curious about and very skillful in the things they apply themselves to, such as making beds and baskets, fishing, hunting, and shooting the bow and arrow. They climb swiftly and nimbly, jump and [48] swim, and would undoubtedly be capable of greater things.

A young man who was a captive among them told them some story from the Holy Scripture; they questioned him about it and conceived doubts that were not without point.

They are rather generous among themselves and give each other what they have; in like fashion they ask freely. They do not act in this way with us, the French, because they give us nothing and are always asking for something and are not discouraged by a refusal.

They are not naturally cruel, except toward their enemies. They are dangerous when intoxicated and fight among themselves, but outside of that they are easy to get along with.

They are extremely lazy and would rather eat less and work less. They scarcely think of tomorrow and stock no provisions except manioc and sweet potatoes which they plant in season. Very often they find themselves short. They care for neither gold, silver, nor c precious stones.

462 They have their work divided between the men and women. Their honor is offended if they are not esteemed for what they think they are. The men never touch the ordinary work of women, believing that they would degenerate.

10. Lore and Learning

757 The Caribs have no knowledge of liberal arts or mechanical skills, not even having words to express them. However, they practice them to the extent that nature has given them knowledge, and necessity requires it. They do not know how to open a vein, but this does not mean that they are ignorant of drawing blood if they must. The instrument they use is neither a lancet nor scalpel, and they do not pierce the vein nor make a deep cut. Instead, they slightly scratch the skin with an instrument which they make from
413 an agouti thigh bone which has an agouti tooth imbedded in one end and is tied with a cotton thread. They sharpen the tooth, and holding the handle press lightly on the flesh and make scratches. Then they rub off the blood with ouallomán straw. [190]

[157] [263] All of the Caribs are extremely melancholy, moody, and silent. They have appetites for odd foods as if they were pregnant women, eating chalk, or if they do not have it, eating earth. The women and children all do it, which make them dry and finally causes their death. I have always in my accounts mentioned their
751 melancholy and the difficult nature of their language. It has been
754 commonly said that the devil beats them. I have never seen nor heard of such a thing from the Caribs in all of the nineteen years I have spoken with them. The reason why such a statement has been made is twofold. Firstly, when lying on the left side their spleen is compressed by the left elbow. It sends black fumes to the brain which causes black and horrible dreams, as if they were at grips with maboyas or were being taken away by them. I have taken some of the Caribs in my arms when I saw them in such pains. I wiped off their sweat and carried them out of their hammocks, and they would have willingly fallen on their knees to thank me because I had protected them from the maboyas who were beating them. The second reason for the statement that the devil beats them is that at the slightest harm they suffer they say it is a spell or an evil given by maboyas or sorcerers. This does not mean that they have been beaten, but rather that they have been sent or given such evils through spells. [341]

278 957 The value of herbs is not unknown to the Caribs who collect them when they are sick in order to drink as medicine the juice which they draw out. Ordinarily the herbs are crushed between their hands and put into a pot full of water. They rub this mixture on the sick

624 They have almost the same ceremony when they make a captain of a man, although captains do not have too much authority among them. They make him fast, gash him, and then throw at his head the skins of cuttlefish. If he does not parry them dextrously he is in danger of being wounded, in which case he would not be considered a good captain.

843 262 During the pregnancy of the wife the husband does not eat tortoise for if he did eat it, they say, they child would be deaf as a tortoise. In the same way the father doesn't eat manatee because that animal has very small eyes and the child would not fail to inherit this imperfection. But when they eat with the French they are not so scrupulous about these restrictions.

4. Commerce

157 648 The life which they lead is so agreeable that they are very contented, and no matter how well we treat them, we cannot keep them living among us. Some Caribs have lived among the French for a long time and have had an easy life, but at the first occasion they have broken away and returned to the other Caribs. They are extremely suspicious, and if they see you with a musket in your hand they will never visit your house. The least thing makes them mistrustful. As we were passing on our return by way of Dominica a Carib came towards us half way from the shore. As soon as he saw the small boat which was behind our vessel he turned quickly away. If one has weapons in his boat they will never come aboard. If one of them climbs aboard a ship, the other always stays in the canoe as a lookout. They judge others as they judge themselves, which means they trust no one. If they come in sight of a house they carefully look all around, partly to see if there is anything to frighten them, and partly to discover a means of surprising it.

648 When they entered the brick house which the governor had made they roughly threw themselves against the wall to test the possibility of pushing it over. They found it firm, and hiding their astonishment and anger they remarked, as though it pleased them, "That's pretty good, compere." No matter how good they have been with you they will endeavor to trap you, and once they have you at their advantage

5; Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

from the missionaries and other observers who had contact with the Indians between 1650 and 1700, when the Lesser Antilles were first being settled. Bouton (1640), Breton (1877, 1892), Labat (1724, 1931), La Borde (1704, 1886), Du Puis (1652), and Dutertre (1667–71; copied in Rochefort, 1665, and Davies, 1666) are the principal primary sources. These have been compiled by Ballet (1875), Harris (1904), Sheldon (1820), Cornilliac (1875), Edwards (1818–19), Featherman (1881–91), Jefferys (1760), Joyce (1916), and Ober (1895), in the last six cases in conjunction with comparable compilations of *Arawak* ethnography. Delawarde (1938), Ober (1880), and D. Taylor (1935, 1936, 1938) have provided information concerning the modern descendants of the *Carib* in the West Indies, while Conzemius (1928) and Sapper (1897 b) have described the *Black Carib* of Central America.

Although the number of *Carib* sources and compilations is smaller than for the *Arawak*, each source, being more or less ethnographic in nature, contains relatively more information, and our knowledge of *Carib* culture is therefore comparable to that of *Arawak* culture. Many of the missionaries failed to distinguish between islands, and as a result the following account will deal with the *Carib* as a whole. The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700, when the *Carib* were concentrated on Dominica, Martinique, and St. Vincent.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The *Carib* had a strong national consciousness. To distinguish themselves from the *Arawak* they used the term *Calinago* or *Calino*, which was corrupted by Columbus to *Caribales*, and later to *Carib*. From it comes our word "cannibal." The inhabitants of each island had a special name, which was formed by adding a suffix to the name of the island. Dominica, for example, was called Oüaitoucoubouli, and its inhabitants had the name *Oüaitoucoubouliri*.

Carib men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*. When speaking together both sexes used the men's language. The old men also had some words not found in the ordinary men's language. These were developed in the war councils.

No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered. By 1700, it is said that the number of those Indians had fallen to 4,000, half of them on Dominica and the rest on St. Vincent. The *Carib* were more robust than the *Arawak*. They had well-developed, flexible bodies and broad buttocks and shoulders. Their height was medium, the skin olive-colored, and the hair and eyes black. When at ease they tended to be melancholy; when aroused they became truculent and vindictive.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

if the vessel overturned. Large rectangular baskets, turned upside down 285
and provided with wooden legs 4 to 5 inches (10 cm.) tall, served as tables (matoutou). The basketry technique was used also in the manufacture of strainers, sieves, and mats, the functions of which have been described above. In historic times the natives had brooms.

The weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of *Carib* 286
culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword-shaped stick. The cloth was dyed with various colors, particularly red, and was sewn with a needle made from a palmetto spine.

Pottery and gourds.—The *Carib* baked pots and griddles of clay; the 415
former were indispensable for making beer. They had numerous gourd [523]
containers, made by removing the pulp with hot water and pebbles. These included bottles for urucú, covered bowls (coyenbouc) for carrying trinkets, platters, cups, dippers, and spoons. Often they were engraved or painted. Coconut shells were treated in the same manner.

Woodworking.—The men not only carved canoes of wood but also 322
they made bowls, which were used primarily for drinking bouts, and stools, which either were solid or were provided with four legs.

Fire making.—The people made fire by rubbing one mahot stick 312
against another.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Except in wartimes, each *Carib* village seems to have been an indepen- 621
dent organization. It consisted of an extended family which had split away from some other village and was headed by its founder. This man, 622
called a carbet chief or tiubutuli-hauthe, had charge of the carbet and of the entertainment which took place therein. He probably also supervised fishing and the cultivation of the land, which seems to have been communal. Although he was treated with deference, he had little authority. The *Carib* men were individualists, and they looked down upon the [157]
Europeans for taking orders.

Each island also had one or two war chiefs, called ubutu, who were 624
elected to hold office for life. Except that ownership of a caracoli seems to have been one of the requirements for this chieftainship, no heredity was involved in the office. However, a son might succeed his father if he could prove himself worthy. He had to be an experienced warrior with a good record, excel in swimming and diving, show that he could carry a greater burden than his followers, and bear burning and slashing of his flesh without flinching.

The war chief was particularly honored. He was provided with an assistant, and wherever he went he was surrounded by a retinue. His

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

wide, their chins well rounded. Mouths and lips are usually small or medium, the noses straight, and sometimes slightly flattened. Their eyes are rather small and deep-set, long and narrow (with the Mongoloid or epicanthic fold), though not as a rule oblique, and are fringed with long silky lashes. Their ears are large, long, and often lobeless, their feet small, broad, and extraordinarily high-arched.

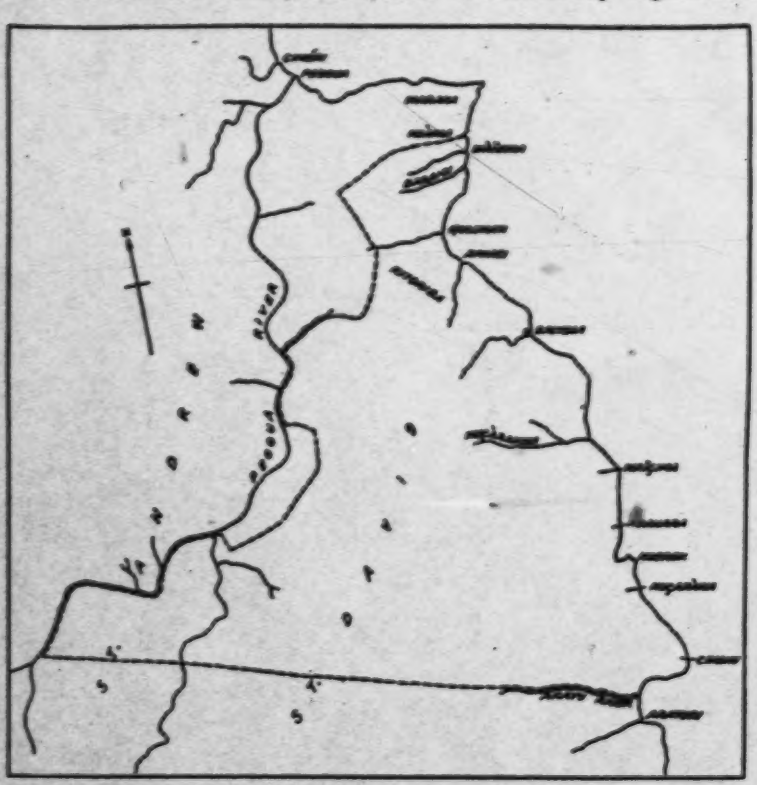

FIGURE 11.—Map of Carib Reserve.

The girls are round-faced, plump, broad-shouldered, and remarkably straight in the loins. Men and women alike have little or no body hair. Their hue varies (apart from reasons of blood admixture), but is always distinct from any Eurafrican blend, being of a light coppery or "feuille morte" tinge, sometimes likened to dried cinnamon.

Like so many others of his race, the Dominica Indian is reticent by nature, sensitive, and quick to take offense, and given to occasional moods of melancholy and unreasonableness. Indifference, one of his best-known traits, coupled with innate shyness (the patois term "couquia" expresses what I mean here much better than our

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

157 "shy." Originally it was the name for a kind of crab which, when it cannot escape unobserved, will curl up and remain perfectly still, so that by no amount of scrutiny or poking can it be made to show the least sign of life) undoubtedly has been one of the principal causes for the bolder, more hot-blooded negro's relatively greater success as a lover, and for the increasing proportion of mixed blood in the reserve today. It has, moreover, contributed to the decay and disappearance of language, legend, and custom; and renders doubly difficult today the task of eking out such vestiges of these as still remain.

578 The war feuds of other days have been replaced by a multitude of
[754] petty jealousies and hatreds, but the Caribs still resort to sorcery and piaï as instruments of injury and revenge. Though, or perhaps just because, the boutou (war club) of yore has gone forever, that other no less formidable weapon, the tongues of the womenfolk, rages more mercilessly than before. In vain one looks among his present-day descendants for that fierceness which is said to have characterized the Carib of old, earning for him a symbolic association with the Malfini, or Mansfénix hawk.

481 Much has been made of the Indian's custom of walking in single or Indian file, and this is as true today in Dominica as ever or elsewhere; but it seems to be the natural outcome of a habit acquired of necessity on forest trails rather than a racial tradition. More significant, perhaps, is the Indian's peculiarly emphatic, stumpy, forward-falling gait, which, in a manner, is reproduced in his speech, character, and way of life.

484 The Caribs' love of travel, in an island where nine-tenths of the population never move without good reason outside a radius of half a mile from their homes, is perhaps worth mention. Few are the men of the reserve who have not at one time or another visited one or all of the neighboring islands of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Martinique—and that with the prospect of no more than a wine or rum debauch if lucky, and a term of imprisonment if caught. Others have left the country for Guiana, Bolivia, or Cuba, as opportunity offered, in search of adventure rather than fortune. Men, women, even children, think nothing of a 35-mile tramp, over mountain track and through virgin forest, to Roseau, the capital, for the sole purpose of selling a few baskets or of buying a few yards of sail cloth or a pound of nails. Their business concluded and their money spent, they will take the homeward road immediately and, if only there be a moon to guide them, march all night through to arrive home by daybreak.

437 Whether cause or effect of poverty, I do not know, but the Indian's
181 proverbial ignorance of the value of money remains as much a fact as his general indifference. In Dominica, at least, he has no other

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

In the Island of St. John are some rocks covered with 172
incised figures, which are called the "Carib rocks,"—rude petroglyphs without meaning; but undoubtedly of aboriginal origin. Throughout the Greater Antilles, I cannot recall any of these petroglyphs, and they seem to be peculiar to the Carib area, other and finer ones being found in the island of St. Vincent. The descendants of the Caribs 131
to-day are confined to two islands only, Dominica (which was the first land sighted by Columbus on his second voyage) and St. Vincent, the former between latitude fifteen and sixteen north, and the latter in latitude thirteen. They 161
are described in my book on these islands,[1] published fifteen years ago, and I will not repeat my descriptions, except to state that there are some twenty families of pure blood remaining in Dominica, and perhaps half a dozen in St. Vincent. There may be three hundred in each island, but so intimately mixed with the negroes that their distinguishing features are nearly obliterated. They dwell on the 361
windward or eastern coast of either island, in each having [423]
a portion of land assigned them, which they cultivate in common, or which, at least, is not owned in severalty. They subsist upon the fruits of their agricultural labors and 224
the sea, eked out with the scant products of the chase, consisting mainly of small birds, agoutis, and iguanas. Their 342
huts are almost as primitive as at the time of discovery, being constructed of palm logs and thatched with palm leaves. In Dominica most of them speak the French patois 197
(a legacy from the former owners of the island), and in St. Vincent, English; being Catholics in the former and [771]
Church of England in the latter, as to their religious faith. All vestiges of their native religion have apparently disappeared, although they still have a belief in the jumbies and wood-spirits of the negroes. They are to-day gentle and 157
easily managed, showing no trace of the warlike spirit of their ancestors; in shape they are robust, well-formed, with

[1] See "Camps in the Caribbees," by F. A. Ober. Boston, 1879.

291 against insect bites, but which gave them the appearance, as many
[302] travellers reported, of a boiled crayfish. Later their dress consisted,
for both sexes, of a cord passed around the body, holding a loin-cloth
smaller than a pocket-handkerchief. The men and the young boys
[412] always wore a sharpened knife between the cord and the thigh. Today
the surviving Caribs lack picturesqueness; in contact with the white
[177] and black creoles, they have taken over their clothing. The men
wear trousers and a shirt; the women wear a long dress of a light color,
similar to those in which the negresses dress. Like the latter, their
heads are covered with a madras kerchief. Only the children of both
sexes go about clothed in a short shirt or completely naked. Former-
[304] ly it was the custom, shortly after birth, to deform their heads by
flattening the skulls by means of a small board.

301 The Carib women do not actually seem very coquettish, and
wear few ornaments, though at the time when the roucou was their
only piece of clothing, they did not neglect ornaments; they adorned
themselves with necklaces, and bracelets, and at adolescence they
wove for themselves a kind of legging which they wore around the leg
between the calf and the ankle, and which they never took off. Even
the men adorned themselves, on important occasions, with metal
ornaments called caracoli, which they wore in their ears, nostrils,
lower lips, and on the chest, not to speak of the black stripes which
they sometimes painted on their faces and bodies or the multicolored
plumes with which they adorned themselves.

157 The Caribs are not very expausive and melancholy is the basis
of their character; their faces bear the mark of sadness and disdain.
They are vindictive, and never forget their injuries, and are partic-
ularly formidable when they are under the influence of alcoholic
[273] drinks (1), for which they have a great weakness. Cherishing their

1. Before the Europeans brought alcohol to them, they made themselves a fermented beverage, called ouycou.

independence above all, servitude is distasteful to them and they do
not wish to lose their liberty at any price. /137/ Merciless toward
their enemies, they are kind and generous to their friends and are
462 very cordial in the exercise of hospitality. Of an unconcerned dis-
position, the men spend entire days in doing nothing, asleep in their